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BRITISH SUBJECTS HELD IN SLAVERY—SURINAM.

(From the Parliamentary Papers.)

MR. SCHENLEY TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

Surinam, November 10, 1842.

MY LORD,—With reference to my despatch of the 26th July, 1842, relating to the British subjects (Barbadoes negroes) held in slavery, in Surinam, I beg to acquaint your Lordship, that I have ascertained the name and domicile of another of these victims (Friend John Taylor, plantation Good Hope), who was brought from Barbadoes to Surinam by the same master (Mr. Conolly) as the negro "Jack," whose case is already before your Lordship.

I have likewise received information that there are as many as 36 of the above unfortunate persons upon one plantation, which, however, from its distance, and the want of a suitable conveyance, precludes the possibility of any personal investigation. I therefore feel it my duty again respectfully to refer to the necessity of a boat and crew being granted for the service of the Commissioners, in order that they may be enabled to execute the duties confided to them.

Surinam, April 1, 1843.

MY LORD,—I beg leave to refer to my despatches of July 15th and 26th, 1842, concerning the subjects of her Majesty, Barbadoes negroes, who are suffering the horrors of slavery in the colony of Surinam.

The suspension of my official functions by the Governor-General, together with the resistance offered by all the local authorities, occasions me much difficulty in gaining information respecting these persons; but on the 27th ultimo, the Barbadoes negro "Jack," contrived to visit my residence, when he informed me, that for several months past he has been separated from his family and children, working at his trade of bricklayer upon a distant estate, earning for the benefit of Mr. Polichy (the individual who holds him in slavery) at the rate of a guilder a day, besides being found in food, lodging, &c., equal to at least another guilder; that during the twelve years or thereabouts, since he has been the property of Mr. Polichy, he has actually earned at the same rate, but never has received any wages or remuneration in money from his owner, or any of his employers, during this long period.

My Lord, the extreme intelligence of this man renders him more sensible of his unhappy condition, and his distress is heightened by viewing the inevitable lot that awaits a very fine family of children, unless the humane efforts of her Majesty's Government be exerted in his favour.

Should such a course be taken, I humbly conceive that some pecuniary recompense ought to be exacted from his present owner, at all events, since the period of emancipation in her Majesty's colonies, considering that, upon a moderate calculation, he will have gained for Mr. Polichy, after deducting all expenses of keep, &c., the large sum of nearly five thousand guilders.

It is now nearly nine months since, in the execution of my official functions, I felt it my duty to bring the case of these British subjects (Barbadoes negroes) under your Lordship's consideration. Appeals from these people, of the most distressing nature, have been frequently made to me during the interval, but never having been honoured by any communication from your Lordship, either respecting them, or the "emancipated negroes," who are equally the victims of unjust detention in slavery, I have not had it in my power to console them by a promise of their liberty, neither have I considered it right to endeavour to reconcile them to their hard lot by recommending them to relinquish all hope of such a consummation.

Surinam, May 30, 1843.

MY LORD,—I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, in reference to the British subjects (Barbadoes negroes) who are held in slavery in the colony of Surinam, that the individual named "John Taylor," (reported in my Despatch, No. 23, of 1842,) sent to my house a few days since a man named Christopher or Kitt, who falls equally under the above category.

The object of this man's visit was to state to me that Taylor had been hired as a slave by a black man, named Hankey, from his present owner, Mr. Conolly, and had been removed to a distant part of the colony on the Sarramacca River, where he was experiencing such harsh usage that he had determined, if possible, to make his escape, and claim protection as a subject of her Majesty, at the British Commission.

I much fear that, should the advice I have sent to "John Taylor" not reach him in time to prevent the accomplishment of his intended evasion, it may give rise to a painful and perplexing question with the local authorities.

I have not been honoured with any instructions whatever from your Lordship concerning these Barbadoes negroes, and I cannot find that my official powers entitle me to harbour or protect them;

consequently, however deeply I may deplore the event, yet I shall have no alternative but to surrender the unfortunate man up to the infliction of punishment awarded to "runaway slaves," of the shocking details of which I shall spare your Lordship's feelings.

Surinam, August 7, 1843.

MY LORD,—At the interview to which the Governor-General admitted me, on the 28th ultimo, his Excellency stated, in reference to the British subjects, Barbadoes negroes, who are held in slavery in Surinam, that he, together with the Procureur-General, Mr. P. de Kanter, had made the strictest inquiries (*des perquisitions*) to discover any negroes of this description, but had entirely failed in doing so. In reply to this extraordinary statement, I requested Governor Elias to refer to my official note of the 25th July, 1842, addressed to the *ad interim* Governor, Mr. de Kanter; and, on the 5th current, having been fortunate enough to find one of the persons, "Jack," whose case was the first communicated to your Lordship, I sent him to the Government House, with a letter stating who he was; but the Governor declined to see him. Two days after, having occasion to call at the office of the Colonial Secretary, that gentleman produced my letter to the Governor, and wished to discuss the merits of the case of these persons. I, however, declined to do so, as tending to no purpose; and, upon his further requesting me, in the name of the Governor, to "drop the matter," I replied, that I felt it my duty to acquaint your Lordship with the circumstance of my having sent the negro, "Jack," for personal interrogation by Governor Elias, had his Excellency thought fit to pursue that course.

I have only to add, that each succeeding act of the local authorities confirms me in the conviction, that neither humanity nor justice towards the negroes they have surreptitiously possessed themselves of, can be expected at their hands, and that no expostulation, upon this or any other subject, will in the least avail, unless backed by the powerful influence of your Lordship's high station.

Surinam, September 6th, 1843.

MY LORD,—I beg leave to state, in reference to the British subjects, Barbadoes negroes, who are held in slavery in Surinam, that I have succeeded in tracing out another very intelligent person of this class, named "John Cook," who is at present serving as a seaman on board of one of the Government colonial vessels, in the condition of a slave. He speaks English perfectly, describes distinctly the period of his having been brought to this colony, by a man named "Levy," and states that he quitted Barbadoes, his birth-place, the day on which Lord Nelson's monument was completed.

I hear of various localities where people of this class are said to exist in slavery, but I have no means of visiting them, to ascertain the fact.

This unfortunate man witnessed the departure of the negroes of the *Snow*, and afterwards shed tears copiously, in my presence, at the melancholy fate for which he seems to fear he is doomed for life.

Your Lordship not having noticed the despatches relating to these people, I have ceased to hold out to them any hope of the interference of her Majesty's Government in their behalf; because I found that I was entirely unsettling them from their labours as slaves, without possessing the slightest power to protect them from the shocking consequences of any trivial neglect. Indeed, the subject of the releasing of these "Barbadoes negroes," which at first caused so much consternation amongst the slave-owners, is now made a matter for ridiculing my office; as they believe that had any measure of amelioration been seriously contemplated towards these negroes, upwards of two years would not have been permitted to elapse, without the adoption of some steps for that purpose.

I hold it my duty to continue to report to your Lordship whenever I discover any of the Barbadoes negroes, as I have not received any instructions cancelling the orders of the Secretary of State to that effect, which were transmitted to the Commissioners in August, 1841.

Surinam, September 10th, 1843.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that a few days since a message came to me from the British subject, (Barbadoes negro,) "John Taylor," (who is held in slavery here, and whose name, together with three others of the same class, I have already submitted to your Lordship,) stating that he had been brought to town, and placed in an hospital, having fallen sick in consequence of over-work. This poor man prayed for some relief, and to know whether there was any prospect of his being permitted to return to his country and family. I caused inquiry to be made into Taylor's condition, and found it to be as his messenger described. I shall not, however, venture to hold out any prospect of liberation to these British subjects, until I am honoured with instructions to that effect from your Lordship.

It is not impossible that the interest which I have shown in these

unfortunate people, and my occasionally bestowing trifling pecuniary assistance upon them, may occasion my conduct to be represented by the slave-owners as an improper interference with their slaves. Should such be the case, I beg leave to refer to Viscount Palmerston's Instructions to the Commissioners upon the subject, and likewise to assure your Lordship, that whenever I have held communication with these enslaved British subjects, I have invariably impressed upon them the necessity of patience and obedience under their afflicting condition.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN TO MR. SCHENLEY.

Foreign Office, August 28, 1843.

Sir,—I referred to her Majesty's Advocate-General your Despatches dated the 15th and 26th July, of last year, together with the previous correspondence extant in this office, on the subject of Barbadoes negroes, said to be held in slavery in Surinam.

I have now to state to you, for your information and guidance, that the Queen's Advocate has reported it to be his opinion, that her Majesty's Government is not called upon to take any steps respecting these negroes.

The Queen's Advocate observes, that if there had been any reason to believe that any of the individuals in question were free-born subjects of her Majesty, or that they had been emancipated and become free by the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, the endeavours of her Majesty's Government to rescue them from the state of slavery in which they are now held, could not have been too urgent or strenuous. But that it is not the duty of her Majesty's Government to insist on the liberation of persons, or the descendants of persons, who were removed as slaves into a foreign colony before slavery was abolished by British law, and who have continued as slaves in a foreign country down to the present time.

With regard to the individual mentioned in your despatch of the 26th of July, 1842, the Queen's Advocate observes that he is stated by you to be a very intelligent man, and to be, moreover, acting in the capacity of head mason, with several apprentices, and therefore not a very young man; but that it would seem that he cannot recollect the date when he was brought from Barbadoes to Surinam.

And the Queen's Advocate observes that this fact tends strongly to show that he must have left Barbadoes long before the abolition of slavery in the island.

Under these circumstances, you will not consider yourself authorised to take any further measures with respect to that individual.

I am, &c. (Signed) ABERDEEN.

MR. SCHENLEY TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

Surinam, October 20, 1843.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch of the 28th of August, relating to the persons denominated "Barbadoes negroes," furnishing me with the opinion of the Queen's Advocate upon the subject, and instructing me "not to take any further measures with respect to one of these individuals named 'Jack.'"

I cannot refrain from expressing my poignant regret at this unhappy termination to the hopes of freedom that have been raised in the minds of these unfortunate beings; indeed, I scarcely know how to impart the sad tidings to them.

The Queen's Advocate seems to infer that none of these negroes "were free-born subjects." I am by no means prepared to agree to this inference; and if, as I have often repeated, a fair examination of them be procured, through the interference of her Majesty's Government, I think I shall be able to prove that some of them were born free, whilst others were promised their freedom as a recompense for accompanying their owners to Surinam; which, so far as I can arrive at, through the restricted, I may say clandestine, communications I hold with them, was long subsequent to 1807, when the removal of negroes became illegal; nor was this removal, as supposed by the Queen's Advocate, into a "foreign colony," but into the (conquered) British colony of Surinam.

The fact, too, of "Jack" not recollecting the date of his quitting Barbadoes, ought not, I humbly submit, to weigh against an effort being made to ascertain whether he is entitled to freedom. Any one at all acquainted with the negro character, must know that the most intelligent of them take no account of time, but calculate by events, as is proved in the instance of the Barbadoes negro, "John Cook," who dates his departure from thence by the completion of Nelson's monument.

I entreat your Lordship's pardon for persisting to intrude the subject of these negroes further, but it pains me to contemplate the cruelties which are certain to be inflicted upon them, as soon as their owners find they no longer have a chance of escaping from slavery. It therefore becomes my duty to use every effort in their behalf; indeed, so strongly am I impressed with this feeling, and with the responsibility which executing the orders of my Government has brought upon me, that, did I possess the means, I would gladly liberate the four persons whom I have communicated with, at my own cost; and if, as I am given to believe, there exists any surplus of the 20,000,000. voted by Parliament, a part of it could not be better employed than in rescuing these unfortunates. It has also occurred to me, that a statement of their unhappy case, if submitted to the people of their native and prosperous island, might procure, through subscription, a sum sufficient for this purpose. I take the liberty of requesting to be informed whether your Lordship will sanction my attempting that course, if all others shall fail?

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD W. H. SCHENLEY.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge. Boston: 1843, 1845.

Address to the Non-Slaveholders of the South, on the Social and Political Evils of Slavery. By the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—reprinted. London: 1843.

The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter. New York. Chambers's Miscellany—*Slavery in America.* Edinburgh.

Slavery and the Slave-Trade in the United States of America; and the extent to which the American Churches are involved in their support. Drawn up at the request of the Committee of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society, by ROBERT KAYE GREVILLE, LL.D. Edinburgh: 1844.

American Slavery proved to be theft and robbery. By HENRY C. WRIGHT, of America. Edinburgh: 1845.

Impressions of America and the American Churches: from the journal of the Rev. G. LEWIS, one of the Deputation of the Free Church of Scotland to the United States. Edinburgh: 1845.

In the works enumerated at the head of this article is contained much interesting and important information relative to slavery in the United States of America. The first subject that arrests our notice is the extent of the slave population in that country, and the great increase which has taken place in its number during successive periods of ten years from the year 1790. In the last-named year the slaves in the United States amounted to 697,897; in 1800, to 893,041; in 1810, to 1,191,364; in 1820, to 1,538,064; in 1830, to 2,009,031; and in 1840, to the very large number of 2,487,355. We confess that we shrink with horror from the contemplation of so vast and constantly increasing a mass of crime and suffering as is involved in the fact to which our attention is thus called. It should be recollected, too, that, unless the efforts of wise and good men in America who are labouring for the abolition of slavery in their land are crowned with success, it is impossible to calculate to what extent the victims of that accursed system, and the crimes which are inseparable from it, may yet be multiplied.

We discover, however, in the documents before us much ground to hope that American slavery has nearly reached the zenith of its extent and wickedness, and that shortly it will recede from its guilty elevation. If we look to the statistical tables contained in the American Almanac, we find that some of the slave states of that country have a very small slave population as compared with their free inhabitants, and that in two of these there has been an actual decrease in the number of slaves since 1790. It will be manifest on very slight consideration that in the whole of those states the abolition of slavery is attended with fewer obstacles, and has probably less to encounter from public opinion, than in those states in which the slaves preponderate over the free population, or in which the number of slaves has greatly augmented.

We give the following statement relative to those states in the American Union in which the slave population is much smaller than that of freemen.

	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Delaware, slaves	8,987	6,153	4,177	4,509	3,292	2,605
Do., freemen	59,098	64,273	72,674	72,479	76,748	78,085
Maryland, slaves	103,036	105,633	111,502	107,398	102,294	89,757
Do., freemen	319,728	341,548	380,546	407,350	447,040	470,019
Virginia, slaves	203,427	343,796	392,518	425,153	496,757	448,967
Do., freemen	748,308	880,200	974,642	1,065,379	1,211,405	1,239,797
N. Carolina, slaves	100,572	133,296	168,824	295,017	235,601	245,817
Do., freemen	393,751	478,103	555,500	638,829	737,987	753,419
Tennessee, slaves	3,417	13,584	44,536	80,107	141,603	183,059
Do., freemen	30,791	105,602	261,727	422,813	681,904	829,216
Kentucky, slaves	11,830	40,343	80,561	126,732	165,213	182,258
Do., freemen	73,077	220,955	406,511	564,317	687,917	779,828
Missouri, slaves	—	—	3,011	10,222	25,081	38,240
Do., freemen	—	3,244	20,845	66,586	140,445	383,762
District of Columbia, slaves	—	14,093	5,393	6,377	6,119	4,694
Do., freemen	—	—	24,023	33,039	39,834	43,712

We have said that, in the states above described, (the district of Columbia stands in a peculiar position, as will be hereafter men-

* American Almanac, 1845.—p. 200.

tioned,) the difficulty of abolishing slavery] is less than in other slave-states. This arises from the smaller amount of money embarked in this guilty species of property, the smaller number of persons implicated in its possession, and the inferior profit derived from the labour of slaves in those regions. There is however a dark side to these statistical returns. In nearly all the northerly slave states the small increase, or actual decrease of the slave population, is occasioned by large and constant exportations of slaves to the great cotton, rice, and sugar-producing states, which lie to the south. In these southern states, in which the labour is most severe, there is a rapid augmentation of the slave population notwithstanding the waste of human life occasioned by a coerced and excessive toil, and other cruelties. Whilst occupied with the subject of population, it cannot, we think, fail to be interesting and cheering to our readers to contrast the progress of the free population of the present free states and territories with those of the same class in the slave states and territories. The former was, in 1790, 1,930,425, and that of the slave states and territories, at the same period, 1,394,847; the difference being 535,278. By the last census, in 1840, the free population in the free states and territories was 9,782,415, whilst in the slave states and territories it was only 4,793,788, or about one half of the free population of the free states.

But we turn from the number of slaves and freemen in the United States, to speak briefly of the condition of the bondsmen in that land. It is one of cruel injustice, and, with few exceptions, such as is that of the slave in every other land: one of much suffering, and of deep intellectual and moral degradation, to which it is to be added that they are, to a great extent, untaught in the blessed truths of the gospel. It is not needful to prove that it is a cruel injustice to deprive man of personal freedom, and to compel him to toil by the lash, instead of giving him a just recompense for his labour. Equally needless is it to prove the enormous wickedness of a system which allows the husband to be forcibly separated from the wife, and the wife from the husband—the parent to be severed in a similar manner from the child, and the child from the parent—which forbids to millions of immortal beings, under the severest penalties, the smallest amount of literary instruction, thus depriving them of the opportunity of searching the sacred records—and which visits with death the attempt to gain that freedom which is the inalienable right of every human being.

Nor does the slave alone suffer in regions desecrated by oppression. Among the free portion of the population in the slave states education languishes, the general tone of morals is corrupted, and Christianity is rarely to be seen in its genuine and lovely character. On the subject of education we are informed that there are educated at the public charge—

In the Free States 432,173

In the Slave States 35,580

Ohio alone has 51,812 such scholars, more than are to be found in the thirteen slave states! Her neighbour, Kentucky, has 429.—*Address to Non-slaveholders*, p. 9.

In the Tenth Report of the American Sunday-School Union is a table showing the number of Sunday-school scholars in each state, for the year 1834. From this table it appears that

There were in the Free States 504,835 Scholars

Slave States 82,532

The single State of New York has 161,768

About twice as many as in the thirteen Slave States.—*Ibid*, p. 16.

Such evidence of apathy respecting the intellectual and religious instruction of the most favoured portion of the population in the slave states sufficiently proclaims the baneful influence of slavery on public sentiment and conduct. The whole truth relative to the impediments to the most elementary instruction in letters in some of these states is not yet told. There are portions, at least, of the slaveholding part of America, including the district of Columbia, over which the Government of the United States has entire jurisdiction, in which coloured persons, although free, are not allowed to be taught to read.—*Lewis's Impressions of America*, pp. 66—85, 157.

We have dwelt rather on general facts, than on particular incidents illustrative of the results of slavery in the United States of America, because to a reflecting mind these are the most convincing proofs of its tendency and character. In this manner, too, the great arguments against slavery may be brought into the smallest space. We will, however, quote one or two passages from the recent work of the Rev. G. Lewis, who, it will be recollected, is a member of the Free Church, by which it will be seen that facts of the most revolting character met the eyes of a traveller in the American slave states. Take the following—

"On board the steamer we saw the first specimen on a large scale of the slave-trade between the central and southern states. About 109 slaves, of both sexes, were on board, on their way to Alabama, to be sold for field labour on the cotton plantations. This is what they most dread as most destructive of life. Several of them had children at the breast. They did not appear melancholy and dejected, until one of them was recognised by a coloured girl, as we called at Smithville, about twenty miles from Wilmington. The girl on shore had recognised her sister on board, and burst into a loud cry on seeing her for the last time. The sister on board, however, did not seem so much concerned about the matter. Familiarity with such scenes hardens the heart; not a proof, surely, that they are the less, but that they are the more wicked, seeing they make the destruction of natural affection necessary to any measure of happiness."—*Lewis's Impressions*, pp. 107—8.

Of a rice plantation near Savannah, visited by the same writer, we are told that "the estate consisted of about 900 acres, with sixty

negroes, of whom only twenty-five are available for work, the rest being children, or the aged and infirm. The gang at work reminded me of a gang of colliers. The women shoeless, with dirty turbans on their heads, and a short dress reaching below the knee. The men had shoes that they had better have been without. One young lad, about eighteen, who had often run away, had an iron collar about his neck, with a bell attached to it, which rang as he moved along. Flogging having failed, this new mode of punishment had been resorted to. He and his companions moved, looked, and laboured, more like convicts than honest men." *Ibid*, 127.

On one occasion Mr. Lewis travelled in company with a Virginian planter and his two negroes, on their way to the South, to be sold to the sugar planters. This planter had 180 slaves, and seemed well known on the road as a slave-dealer. The coachman cried out to him, "Your're a devil of a nigger-seller, bringing two or three boys every day you come this way." Both the slaves mentioned, one of whom seemed about thirty, and the other twenty-eight years of age, had left wives in Virginia. They were married by a minister, and each had also left one child behind. One of the negroes said, when they were left alone for a while with Mr. Lewis, "Master promised I should die in his service. It is mighty bad to sell me. It is heart break, and I think I will die." Both attended the Baptist chapel, and one of them is a member.—*Ibid*, pp. 146—7.

But we must recommend our readers to consult the *Impressions* of Mr. Lewis, which are, we think, with very few exceptions, correct respecting slavery. In some instances his remarks do not appear to us to be sufficiently explicit with respect to the duty of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery. Thus it is said of the slave-coloured population as distinguished from the negro slave, "This race should have been long since emancipated, and means taken for their instruction and elevation." Such a statement is no less true of those who have the darkest skin that is to be found in the Union. They are equally the children of our heavenly Father, equally the objects of redeeming love, and they should receive equal treatment from their fellow-men. But we have no desire to be severe where we find much more to approve than to condemn.

For a brief and condensed account of slavery in the United States we can strongly recommend Chambers's tract entitled *American Slavery*, which appears to have been carefully compiled. We must at the same time express our opinion that this pamphlet does not do justice to the American abolitionists, whilst it is far from speaking of them in the disrespectful manner which we have observed in recent publications and speeches emanating from religious professors, of whom we might have reasonably hoped better things.

It is probably to the conduct of certain members of a deputation of the Free Church of Scotland to the United States, that we are indebted for the publication we have last noticed, as we certainly are for "Slavery and the Slave-trade in the United States of America," by our esteemed friend, Dr. Greville; and for "American Slavery proved to be Theft and Robbery," by a transatlantic friend and abolitionist. Our readers will understand the allusion to the Free Church deputation. They will recollect that these gentlemen received the gold of the slave-holder whilst on their American mission—gold which, if it be not, as there is reason to fear it often is, the price of blood, is the fruit of a cruel and unrighteous system. Whatever may be the opinion entertained of the conduct of the deputation in seeking contributions from such a quarter, we can only speak with unqualified disapprobation of the apologies for the slave system and its abettors which we have witnessed on the part of a portion of the deputation, and the gross and shameful injustice which they have done to the zealous friends of the slave in America. There is, in the fact of the publications we have noticed, some evidence that the conduct of which we complain may be overruled for good, by directing public attention, both in Scotland and our own country, to the subject of American slavery, more than might otherwise have been the case. Neither can we doubt, that some of the publications which we have noticed, if not the whole of them, will exercise a beneficial influence in the United States.

We should gladly have made larger quotations than we are able to do from the works before us; but we desire, in conclusion, briefly to state the grounds on which we look with confidence to an early and rapid progress towards the abolition of slavery in the United States of America. Among these is the rapid growth of population in the free States, as compared with that of the slave states, and their no less superiority in general intelligence, industry, and prosperity,—circumstances that must shortly give them a great political preponderance over the slave-holding portion of the Union. This may be expected to lead to the abolition of slavery, although not without an arduous struggle, in the district of Columbia, where the Government of the United States has exclusive jurisdiction. The increasing power of the free states has already led to the refusal of Congress to pass the atrocious gag rule, by which petitions for the abolition of slavery in the district referred to were, until very recently, prohibited from being read. The evident advantages of freedom in those states in which it exists cannot fail, we think, to recommend its early adoption, at least in those slave states which border upon the free. The waters of a river will not much longer separate between the free man and the slave, when facts of the kind described by the eloquent French writer, De Tocqueville, in the comparison drawn by him between Kentucky and Ohio, so plainly point out the course which policy, no less than humanity and justice, dictate. "Upon the left bank of the stream the population is rare. From time to time one descries a troop of slaves loitering in the half-desert fields. The primeval forests recur at every turn. Society seems to be asleep, man to be idle, and nature alone offers a

scene of activity and life. From the right bank, on the contrary, a confused hum is heard which proclaims the presence of industry. The fields are covered with abundant harvests; the elegance of the dwellings announces the taste and activity of the labourers; and man appears to be in the enjoyment of that wealth and contentment which are the reward of labour."—*Slavery in America*, p. 23. There are evident signs of progress in the anti-slavery cause, both in the northern and in some of the southern states of America. Among the latter, this remark applies especially, so far as our knowledge extends, to Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, and Missouri. There are signs of progress both within the pale of the church, where every holy work should ever find its warmest support, and among the community generally. The fact we have stated is proved by the recent refusal to pass the gag rule in Congress, by the decided anti-slavery action of various churches in the United States, and by the greater boldness and frequency with which the cause of abolition is advocated, both in northern and southern newspapers and periodicals. We are well aware that in the south this is yet very far from being general. The press there, in many parts, shares the thralldom of a large portion of the inhabitants. We feel great confidence in the progress of abolition in the United States, when we reflect on the justice of the cause—on the Christian character and eminent qualifications of many of those who are engaged in its support—on what has been accomplished in the northern States of the Union, where slavery existed in the early part of the present century—on the abolition of slavery in the British possessions, where 750,000 of our emancipated fellow-subjects have been, within a few years, raised to the rights of men—and above all, on that blessing of the Almighty, which we cannot doubt will attend our endeavours to extend the blessings of freedom to every member of the great family of man.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of this SOCIETY will take place in the HALL of COMMERCE, THREADNEEDLE-STREET, on SATURDAY, 17th of MAY, 1845;

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, Esq., in the Chair.

The Chair will be taken at 12 o'clock precisely.

Admission, by Tickets only, which may be had at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street; Thomas Ward and Co., 27, Paternoster-row; Messrs. Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly; James Nisbet, Berners-street, Oxford-street; Messrs. Joseph Sterry and Son, 156, High-street, Borough; and Charles Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street Without.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. CALDER and Mr. HAUGHTON are requested to accept our thanks.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all Newsvenders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum. A few complete volumes are on hand.

Subscriptions and Donations to the Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer, (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

For the list of Subscriptions the patience of our readers is requested till our next.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, MAY 14, 1845.

We beg to draw the attention of our readers to the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which will be held on Saturday next, the 17th instant, at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle-street, City. The chair will be taken at Twelve o'clock, by J. J. Gurney, Esq., of Norwich. We are aware that the public attention is at present drawn to several objects which make louder appeals than the anti-slavery movement; this movement, however, may be truly affirmed to have lost none of its importance, and we trust the attendance at the public meeting will show that the people of England have lost in it none of their interest.

We have great pleasure in announcing another of those steps by which, as we firmly believe, the great cause of human freedom is destined to advance to a happy consummation. The Diet of Sweden has responded to the appeal of the King in such a manner as to secure the abolition of slavery in the island of St. Bartholomew. This interesting and important intelligence has been kindly communicated by Professor Geyer, in a letter which we insert below.

"Stockholm, 11th April, 1845.

"DEAR SIR,—I have delayed answering your last letter, till I could give certain information of the state of the slavery question at the present Diet. I can now transmit to you the intelligence, that the estates have acceded to the proposition of the King concerning the emancipation of the slaves at St. Bartholomew, in voting 10,000 piastres yearly, for five years, to be expended in redeeming the slaves of that island, and compensating the loss of their masters. His Majesty feels deeply interested in that great question of justice and humanity.

"Truly, your most obliged,

"E. G. GEYER."

J. Scoble, Esq.

We must on this occasion record our heartfelt sense of the course pursued by the King of Sweden, and our sincere thanks to Professor Geyer, and the other friends of the cause in that country, who have interested themselves in this matter. Freedom is thus secured to between four and five hundred human beings now in slavery. At the same time we should have been more happy if this act of humanity and justice had been completed at once, rather than diffused over a period of five years.

We are enabled to find space to-day for the insertion of some further extracts from the Parliamentary papers of last year, relating to British subjects held in slavery in foreign countries. Several months ago we presented the facts as existing in the island of Cuba; and now we exhibit the case as it stands in the Dutch colony of Surinam. We are sure that the condition of these unfortunate persons will engage universal sympathy; and that the language held by the Earl of Aberdeen, in relation to them, will be regarded (to use the mildest term) with deep regret. From our Parliamentary intelligence it will be seen that the matter was brought under the notice of the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston, on the 5th instant; and our readers will be sincerely gratified to find that he took a view of it corresponding with that which has been already advocated in our pages. The noble lord referred to the act of 1807, which made it illegal to remove a slave from a British into a foreign slave-colony, and expressed his opinion that the liberation of all slaves deported subsequently to the passing of this act might and should be demanded. The reply made by Sir Robert Peel to this statement was, that, if the act of 1807 had not been sufficiently regarded, the case of the parties held in slavery should not be prejudiced by the omission. We trust that Lord Aberdeen will again direct his attention to the subject, with a view to doing all that it may be competent to the British Government to effect in the case of so large a number of unhappy persons, who certainly deserve its kindest regard. The part which has been taken by Mr. Schenley, the British Commissioner at Surinam, in this matter, cannot be regarded otherwise than as doing him the highest honour, and as entitling him to the thanks of the whole community. We may add that, on the same occasion, Lord Palmerston made some important observations on the incorrectness of the slave-trade return lately presented to the House of Commons, and on the abandonment by the present Government of the claim which had been previously made, for the liberation of slaves who have been introduced into Cuba and Brazil in violation of treaty stipulations. His plea for destroying the barracoons on the coast of Africa belongs to a system with which we have already expressed our entire dissatisfaction.

THE West India newspapers bring little intelligence of interest. The most important item in them is the announcement that the sanction of the Crown has been given to the Trinidad immigration ordinances. The fate of those from British Guiana has not transpired.

THE last papers from the United States bring some further accounts respecting the Annexation question. In Mexico the passage of the measure in the United States has produced, as might be expected, much excitement. The Mexican Government, however, has as yet confined itself to a course of diplomatic hostility. The minister of Foreign Relations, Signor Cuevas, has announced to Mr. Shannon, minister from the United States, the cessation of diplomatic intercourse; and has addressed a protest against the conduct of the United States to the three Governments of England, France, and Spain. He has also submitted to the House of Deputies the draft of a decree putting an end to all treaties existing between the two Governments. The advices from Texas are still of a doubtful character. On this subject we find the following passage in the *Express*, United States paper:—

"The news from Texas, in substance, is, that while the people of Texas wish to come into the Union, the administrators of the Texas Government do not. A great deal is thus to be done before Texas can be made one of the United States. Meanwhile, public attention in the United States, particularly in the southern part, is much directed towards California, of which it is probable that, one of these days, the United States Government will become possessed. The southern states of the Union are bent upon enlarging the slave-holding territory; and so far does one of the leading presses in New Orleans go (the *Bulletin*) as to say, that, in case British intrigue causes Texas to reject annexation—

"In that event, there is but one step which our Government can with propriety pursue; that is, to solve the difficulty as Mr. Madison solved a similar one in 1840, by taking possession, with a military force, of the country which is the subject of the intrigues. The seizure and occupation of Mobile and Baton Rouge furnish at once an example and a precedent for the present administration, should there seem to be good reason to apprehend that the officiousness of Great Britain is operating to the prejudice of the United States."

Considerable activity seems to have prevailed in diplomatic affairs, since both the English and French ministers are stated to have received dispatches, by the *Electra* on the 24th of March, and by the *Eurydice* on the 5th of April. President Jones is reported to have treated the United States minister, Major Donelson, so cavalierly as to induce him to speak of withdrawing from the seat of government to Galveston. On the whole, there seems to be truth in the observation of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, that "Texas seems uncertain about her course;" and we earnestly hope that her decision may be in favour of her nationality and independence.

THE South American papers announce that the treaty between Great Britain and Brazil, under which the right of search has been exercised, expired by lapse of time on the 13th of March last. It is stated also that the Brazilian Government will not permit the renewal of this right, and that a new treaty is in course of negotiation. The Court of Mixed Commission is to have six months to decide on pending cases. How the matter at present stands will appear from the following extract from Bandinel's work on the slave-trade:—

"The Government of Brazil, on declaring itself independent of Portugal, professed to feel itself bound by the treaties which the mother country had contracted with foreign powers. The conduct, however, which its subordinate authorities pursued, with respect to the slave-trade, showed that they were bent on its support. Among other acts demonstrative of this disposition, they gave to vessels trading in slaves, licenses contrary to the convention. Mr. Canning did not suffer that conduct to pass without observation. He directed strong remonstrances to be made to the Brazilian Government; and on its referring him to the convention with Portugal, as affording adequate power to prevent the practices complained of, Mr. Canning interpreted the answer into an admission that the British Government might, under the convention, prevent the slave-trade forbidden by it. And, accordingly, orders were issued to the British cruisers to detain, and directions given to the Commissioners to condemn, vessels found trading with irregular licenses, should any such have been given by Brazilian authorities, to enable the vessels so to trade."

WE see by the papers that the Dutch Government are proceeding with their plan of sending European colonists to Surinam. Preparation, it appears, has been made for them on the banks of the river Saramacca; and the first party, consisting of about 200 persons, are on board ship at Amsterdam, ready for their departure. It is feared that the Netherlands Government, while they will not allow in this experiment the use of slave-labour, intend to employ the liberated Africans in Surinam in draining the land, in cutting trenches, and generally in the heavier duties of the new colony, in order to relieve the white emigrants from the toil and danger connected with this kind of labour. As, however, the liberated Africans, although entitled to perfect freedom, are only nominally free, they will necessarily be coerced, and their lives will be rendered still more miserable than they have hitherto been under the unjust and cruel system which has so long oppressed them. The attention of our Dutch friends should be directed to this subject.

WE have frequently adverted to the system of serfage in Russia, as having many of the characteristics of slavery; but we have now to refer to a transaction which brings out the actual existence of slavery itself in the very heart of Europe. The *Amsterdamsche Courant* gives, in a letter from Leipzig, of the 23rd of April, 1845, the following advertisement, taken from a late number of the *Moon*, a newspaper published at Agrasu, a town in Hungarian Croatia. It is under the head of Bucharest, in Wallachia.

"To be sold, by the sons and heirs of the late Serdar Nicholas Nika, of Bucharest, in the suburb of St. Venire, two hundred families of Pagan Gypsies (Zigeuner). Most of the men are husbandmen, smiths, goldsmiths, shoemakers, and musicians. The proprietors of these Pagans will not sell less than five families at once; but, in compensation, they will fix the price at one ducat per head less than usual, and accommodation for the payment will be granted."

In communicating this advertisement, the writer of the letter makes the following just remarks:—

"One might, at first view, take this advertisement for a joke; but it is not so. It is made in real earnest. And it is, besides, in full accordance with the law: for the civil code, granted in 1818, by Prince Jauracudaba, to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and yet in full vigour in both of them, authorizes slavery in explicit terms. Thus, while the great Christian powers seek, year after year, at an immense expense, to check the negro slave-trade, the sale of white slaves is carried on under their eyes without any restraint, in two Christian countries in the heart of Europe!"

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, May 5.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

On the moving of the Navy estimates,

LORD PALMERSTON said—I am anxious to make a few observations on the subject of the returns as to the slave-trade. I first wish to draw attention to the first return of vessels, which has not been framed in a very clear way. The vessels captured of one year are mixed with those of another year, and I think it might have been done in a clearer manner. But there is also a return of the number of slaves landed, and that does not tally, in any degree, with the information which is given by the documents actually referred to by the notes appended to the report. Without going into the detail of all the discrepancies, I will just take one instance in regard to the slaves landed at the Havanna and Cuba in 1836, 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41. By this return the number landed appears to have been 49,992, and by the documents and papers which are actually referred to, the number appears to have been upwards of 82,000 for the same period. I am now talking of the returns stated by the Commissioners at the Havanna in a despatch quoted in the notes at the end of this report; and those Commissioners not only give 82,000 as the number landed in those years, but they say this number is only three-fourths of the number landed in the island. Therefore, if the additional number is added to the 82,000 for the purpose of making up the total, it appears, by the despatches of the Commissioners, that 109,000 were landed during those years, whilst the return makes out that only 49,000 were landed (Hear,

hear). The gentleman in that department of the Foreign-office, whose duty it was to make out these returns, is a person of great diligence, and exceedingly zealous in the matter, and there certainly must have been some very unusual oversight in regard to this return. But it seems to me that he might produce an amended return which would be more satisfactory. In looking over the slave-trade papers, there are one or two points I wish to take this opportunity of adverting to, as this will be the only occasion upon which my observations will regularly belong to the subject before the house. I mention the subject because a part of this vote applies to the providing of cruisers to be employed in the suppression of the slave-trade. I am sorry to see, according to the last reports from every quarter—from Cuba, from Brazil, and from the coast of Africa, that slavery is on the increase. But before I touch upon that part of the subject, there is one point to which I wish very much to call the attention of the Government. It is a matter which has frequently been brought under the notice of the present and former governments. It is stated that there are in Cuba and at Surinam a considerable number of negroes, who at different periods had been brought from British possessions to the Spanish and Dutch possessions, before the emancipation of our negroes, and who consequently remain now in a state of slavery; whereas if they had been left in the British colonies they would have been included in the operation of the act of emancipation. This subject was brought under our consideration at the period when we were in office; and in the cases in which the statement was made, I thought it was the duty of the Government to endeavour to obtain the liberation of the individuals with respect to whom that statement was made (Hear, hear). I am sorry, however, to see that the present Government have taken a different view of the matter, for I find a despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen, dated the 28th of August, 1843, to the Commissioner at Surinam, Mr. Schenley, to this effect:—Mr. Schenley, I should say, had represented that there were several negroes, and he mentioned one in particular, who stood in that predicament, and Lord Aberdeen, in reply, says: "I referred to her Majesty's Advocate-General your despatches, dated the 15th and 26th of July of last year, together with the previous correspondence extant in this office on the subject of Barbadoes negroes said to be held in slavery in Surinam. I have now to state to you for your information and guidance that the Queen's Advocate has reported it to be his opinion that her Majesty's Government is not called upon to take any steps respecting these negroes. The Queen's Advocate observes that if there had been any reason to believe that any of the individuals in question were free-born subjects of her Majesty's, or that they had been emancipated and become free by the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions, the endeavours of her Majesty's Government to rescue them from the state of slavery in which they are now held could not have been too urgent or strenuous. But that it is not the duty of her Majesty's Government to insist on the liberation of persons, or the descendants of persons, who were removed as slaves into a foreign colony before slavery was abolished by British law, and who have continued as slaves in a foreign country down to the present time. With regard to the individual mentioned in your despatch of the 26th July, 1842, the Queen's Advocate observes that he is stated by you to be a very intelligent man, and to be, moreover, acting in the capacity of head mason with several apprentices, and therefore not a very young man, but that it would seem that he cannot recollect the date when he was brought from Barbadoes to Surinam. And the Queen's Advocate observes that this fact tends strongly to show that he must have left Barbadoes long before the abolition of slavery in that island. Under these circumstances, you will not consider yourself authorised to take any further measures with respect to that individual." There is another despatch with respect to the Commissioners at the Havana, laying down the same doctrine as to Cuba, stating that the Government did not intend to take any steps for the liberation of the slaves who were similarly situated in Cuba (Hear). It may appear very presumptuous for me to dispute the law laid down by so high an authority as the Queen's Advocate-General, but I think that he must entirely have forgotten that there was another law passed with regard to this matter previous to the abolition of slavery—in fact, ever since 1806 or 1807—by which it is illegal for any British subject to carry any slave out of any British possession for the purpose of selling him as a slave to any foreign possession (Hear, hear). And, therefore, it may be presumed, unless the contrary be shown, that these British negroes who are held in slavery in Cuba and Surinam were taken out of British possessions and carried into foreign possessions at a time when it was against the law that it should be done. If a British subject was carried out of the island where he was born or lived, and against the law transferred to a foreign master, it would be the most cruel injustice against that British subject for the British Government to neglect demanding his freedom, and thereby to deprive him of those rights which he would enjoy if he had remained under British law in the island to which he properly belonged. This is not a question that applies to one or two individuals. I believe there are a great number of persons in the situation of the individual to whom I allude. The Commissioners state that in Cuba the British language is spoken by nearly all the negroes in the plantations, thus proving that they were originally brought from British colonies (hear, hear). The Queen's Advocate says, her Majesty's ministers are not called upon to declare that they are to afford whatever protection is in the power of the British Government to give to any British subject who labours under any injustice from which they have the means of freeing him, and there certainly cannot be a greater injustice inflicted on any man than continuing him in slavery, when according to the law of his country he is entitled to his freedom. (Hear, hear). I do hope that her Majesty's Government will reconsider the decision which they have adopted, in consequence of the opinions given on this question by the Queen's Advocate. It is not compulsory on the Government to adopt the decision of the Queen's Advocate. They may adopt or reject that opinion, as the only object in procuring it is to ascertain what the state of the law is. I should wish them to refer back to the Queen's Advocate the question as arising under the acts of 1806 and 1807, and I think the Government ought to take a more enlarged view of the duties which they owe towards a born subject of the British Crown, than they would appear to have hitherto done (hear, hear). But there is another class of persons, also, whose situation occupied the attention of the late Government. These were the slaves who had been captured in slave ships taken under exist-

ing treaties, and who had been emancipated at Brazil, or in the Spanish or Dutch possessions, under the sentence of the Mixed Courts Commission; and who are known by the name of Emancipados. It was well known to all the consuls that these individuals, though nominally emancipated, were in effect held as slaves; the Government, under the pretence of fitting them for liberty, hiring them out to individuals for terms of five years, and receiving a sum of money in lieu of their services, on each occasion of their being re-hired at the end of every five years. They were, in fact, worse than slaves, as no person had an interest in their well-being (hear, hear). Now I am glad to perceive that the Government have succeeded, or at least did succeed, during the governorship of General Valdez in Cuba, in receiving certificates of freedom for those persons, which left them in the situation of free and independent agents; but that Governor objected to give certificates of freedom in all cases where they were entitled to be bestowed, as he said such an act would produce too great a convulsion in the island, thus showing that the number of negroes thus circumstanced was very considerable. I fear the present Governor of Cuba is a very different man from General Valdez. (Hear, hear). I fear that General O'Donnell has returned to all the bad practices of former times—that he encourages the slave-trade, and that he even takes money for permitting the landing of slaves; and I, therefore, fear that he would be very much indisposed to grant any further certificates. I trust the Government will not relax in its endeavours to procure real liberty for all the negroes circumstanced in the manner I have mentioned, and that the whole number of the Emancipados will be placed in the condition of free men. I have great pleasure in perceiving that the Government of Brazil have consented that all individuals emancipated by the court shall be made free. There are a great number of negroes so circumstanced, and I trust their situation will not be lost sight of. (Hear, hear). This disposes of two classes of negroes to whom I wished to direct attention; but there is also a third class, much more numerous than either of the former, and that is the class of negroes who have been brought into Cuba and into Brazil at the period when it was forbidden by the laws of their respective countries that any such importations should take place, and who are, therefore, by the law of the land in which they reside, really entitled to their freedom. By the edict of Ferdinand, every negro brought into any Spanish possession after the 2nd of May following was to be declared free from the moment he landed in a Spanish possession; and the existence of that law is not denied by the Spanish Government, nor is it repudiated by the Governors of their colonies; for, in Cuba, General Valdez did actually set free a great number of newly-landed Africans under that very edict. Now, we applied to the Government of Spain to sign a convention, of which we sent them a draft, the purport of which was, that the Mixed Commission at the Havana should be authorised to inquire into the cases of negroes who were in the condition of those to whom the Governor had, on his own responsibility, given their freedom, and to conclude their claim to be released from captivity. We thought, that whereas the Governor had acknowledged practically the existence of that law, the British and Spanish commissioners sitting at the Havana should have power, if they found any such negroes, to put them in the same position as the Governor had, by his own act, before placed them. The Spanish Governor gave no answer to that demand on our part, until we had left office; but at the end of 1841, after a long note on the subject, they refused to accede to comply with our proposal. Their answer was not as satisfactory, in the way of refutation of our right to make the demand, as it might have been; but her Majesty's Government thought proper to acquiesce in that refusal, and dropped all further negotiations on the subject. Instead of making further inquiry on the point, they accepted from the Spanish Government an engagement explanatory of the existing law. No doubt the law was dubious, according to the treaty, and that it was necessary to have it defined; but I am sorry to say, that I attach no value whatever to any law that the Spanish Government may pass on the subject of slavery, because, while the law of Ferdinand remains a dead letter, no other law is likely to be carried into execution, while, if that law were faithfully enforced, no other enactment would be necessary on the subject. (Hear, hear). But I do think that her Majesty's Government rather too lightly acquiesced in that refusal of the Spanish Government, and that even if they had thought fit to waive the demand, with regard to the negroes now in Cuba, and who are as much entitled to their liberty as any Spanish residents in the island, and that by virtue of the treaty concluded with Great Britain—if, I say, they had waived the demand with regard to the negroes so circumstanced, I think they ought to have insisted on the extension to the Mixed Commission, of power to decide on the cases of all negroes hereafter to be brought into Cuba contrary to law. It is very well for the Spanish Government to object to having foreign powers mixed up with matters of slavery, but they are too late with their objection, inasmuch as the treaty already existing between this country and Spain establishes a foreign jurisdiction in Cuba. The proposed treaty was not intended to extend that jurisdiction beyond the present limits, but was merely devised to make it more complete. It was said that we may trust to the present Governor of Cuba, but my answer to that is, that I have no reliance on him in carrying that part of the treaty with Great Britain into execution. I want the British authority to be exercised in effecting that object. (Hear, hear.) For, after all, what did General Valdez do? He confiscated some negroes brought into Cuba, in violation of the Spanish law. He gave them their liberty, to which they were by law entitled, but in what way? Why, he said, there are men brought from the wilds of Africa, and totally unfit for the state of society in which they are thrown. We must deal with them as we would with the Emancipados. We must apprentice them. And accordingly the female slaves were sold, or hired out to respectable householders, to act as domestic servants, without any security being given that they are not permanently to remain in a state of slavery; while the males, as the best means of making them permanently useful members of society, were sent out to work in lighting the streets. Now, I don't think that is a proper way to make them permanently useful members of society, or that our Government should not have required from the Spanish Government the liberation of all slaves brought into Cuba, in violation of the law of Spain. They should, in my opinion, have insisted on the Mixed Commission being authorised to interfere in the cases of these slaves. If the negroes had been captured on board a ship, the Mixed Commission would have an un-

doubted right to deal with them; and when they are captured on shore, after being introduced into the island, the same right should be acknowledged. (Hear, hear, hear.) Now, I am sorry to say that the slave-trade is increasing in every country in which it is carried on. I certainly had been apprehensive that the fact would be so, but I still think that it is in the power of her Majesty's Government to take measures which would effectually put an end to this disgraceful and disgusting proceeding. (Hear, hear.) There was the measure that was, perhaps, most effectual after the general extension of the right of search. I allude to the destruction of the slave barracoons on the western coast of Africa. The commissioners tell you that in 1842 or 1843 the slave-trade had very much diminished. They say that diminution arose from three causes. One of these was, I think, the greater vigilance exercised in Cuba; another was, I forget what; but the third and the principal cause was, the destruction of the barracoons. They dwell at length on that subject, and tell you that the most effectual and only mode of putting an end to the slave-trade must be in the destruction of the barracoons. (Hear, hear.) Now when the present Government came into office, the first thing they did was to write a letter condemning the burning of these barracoons, and stating that such a policy was against the law of nations. I think that a most extraordinary doctrine, and one that I should especially very little expect would be put forward, either by the Government of England or by the Government of France. If our Government wanted to co-operate with the Government of France for the suppression of the slave-trade, and if the government of France be equally desirous to co-operate with the government of this country for the same purpose, let them unite in sweeping from the coast of Africa those dens of iniquity to which I have alluded. Let them get the consent of the African chiefs if they can, but if they cannot, let the barracoons be destroyed in any case. If the two countries unite determinedly for this purpose, the question of the right of search will cease to be a practical question between the two states, and will resolve itself into merely one of theory. (Hear.) I am very anxious to bring this matter under the consideration of the government, because I do think that although, when the subject is mooted in this house, nothing can be more satisfactory than the language held out by the members of the government, still, when it is necessary to send a despatch on the subject the same energy cannot be perceived. (Hear, hear.) The strongest expressions of condemnation of the slave-trade are used in this house, still, when we look to see what the government has done, we find on the one hand that they are going step by step to undo everything adopted for the purpose of preventing this traffic, and that they refuse to take any forward step likely to lead to the suppression of this abominable traffic. (Hear, hear, hear.) When they have done all that I have pointed out to them—when they have succeeded in putting down the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, there will still remain enough to occupy them in the eastern and northern parts of that continent. In Egypt the pacha already promised to relinquish the razias, by which he was in the habit of recruiting his army in the interior; but, in 1843, one of the most disgraceful scenes of that kind ever committed was perpetrated by him. We have evidence of the slave-trade existing in Muscat, where the Imaum carried on the trade in slaves with Christian nations, and more especially with the Portuguese establishments. The noble lord concluded by observing, that he had not made these remarks in any spirit of annoyance to the government, or in any personal or party feelings.

Sir ROBERT PEEL. With respect to the returns, I was certainly most anxious that they should be made out as the noble lord required them; and if he suggested any alterations that he would wish to have made in them, I would be ready to adopt them. Even now, if the noble lord will point out any discrepancies in the returns, or any additions which he would wish to have made, I will immediately communicate with the proper officer in the Foreign Office on the subject. With respect to the case of inquiry in Surinam, I will not hesitate to say, that if the noble lord thinks that the acts of Parliament of 1806 and 1807 have not been sufficiently adverted to, it shall certainly not prejudice the right of the individual negro referred to. There is one part of the noble lord's speech which gave me great satisfaction; and that was the opinion which he expressed of a cordial union between France and England being likely to do more to effect the suppression of the slave-trade than anything else that could possibly be suggested; and I certainly do not despair of that infamous traffic being put an end to by that means. I do not think the slave-trade is carried on to any great extent on the eastern coast of Africa; and I must also say, that during the last six months the British cruisers have captured a greater number of slaves on the western coast than for a considerable period previously. This, of course, may be partly attributed to an increase in the traffic; but still I cannot help thinking that this success will have very beneficial results. It would certainly be for the advantage of humanity if the Spanish government had acceded to the proposition of the noble lord; but we certainly felt that the law of nations did not permit us to enforce his demand. With respect to the barracoons, I certainly cannot concur in what has been stated by the noble lord; and, as to the conduct of the government with regard to Scinde, I certainly never claimed any freedom from the general regulations that bind nations. I trust, however, that France and England will exert themselves to procure the permission of the native chiefs for the destruction of the barracoons, as I attach the greatest importance to such a mode of proceeding. I certainly do not despair of our making some arrangement of that nature. (Hear, hear.) I cannot concur with the noble lord in the opinion, that we would be justified in attempting to suppress the slave-trade, by disregarding altogether the general laws which regulate our intercourse with other countries.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON said:—What I meant with regard to the barracoons was this, that the course suggested by the right honourable gentleman is undoubtedly the best, and I am fully convinced that it would be found to be practicable in almost every case, that is to say, we should hold out to the native chiefs inducements, and I am confident small inducements would be sufficient, to lead them to permit us to destroy the barracoons. But what I insist upon is this, that if in any case there were a chief who clung so to the slave-trade, that he refused to take our offers to permit us to destroy these barracoons, such conduct on his part would afford a case which would justify us in committing an act of war. The objection raised, as to the law of nations, amounts to this—that you

have not the right, by the law of nations, of landing on the territory of an independent chief, with the design of executing a purpose to which he is no party. But if there is an African chief so barbarous, that he will not concur with his neighbours in co-operating with you in the suppression of the slave-trade, then, I say, you would be justified in compelling him by force to do so. Such conduct, on the part of that chief, would be a case of war within the law of nations. Your war with him would be carried on for a purpose which would not interfere with his independence or with his territorial possessions. But I cannot see anything in the law of nations not to justify you in having recourse to hostile means to compel such a chief to concur in a legitimate purpose. There was no doubt that if France and England combined for the purpose, they would be able to hold out to all these chiefs inducements to co-operate with them in securing the great and humane object which both would have in view, and securing it with the full consent of the chiefs. The return made to my motion I consider an imperfect return. I had moved for a return to be made up from documents in possession of the Government; and it is clear, from the notes added to this return, that there are documents in possession of the Government, which contain information which the return does not supply.

Mr. HUME was sorry that he was obliged to differ from the noble lord. He agreed with him that it was a most desirable object to put an end to the slave-trade and slavery. No man had done more with a view to that object than the noble lord. Throughout the whole of the period during which he presided at the Foreign-office, his attention was unremittingly devoted to this matter. But we had been carrying out the views of the noble lord at great expense and great risk, without being able to effect our object. The trade in slaves remained, he feared, as ripe to-day as it was when they began their operations. He was not quite clear that the information they had, in many instances, could be depended upon. If correct information was supplied, he was afraid it would be found that they had added to the evils of the traffic, instead of suppressing it. When the noble lord spoke of treaties with the African chiefs, he thought it would be impossible to effect much in that way, for so long as the chiefs could make it profitable to carry on the trade, it would be next to impossible to make them desist. If they burnt the barracoons one week, in the course of a few weeks, the chiefs would be in possession of others. If they drove them from one point of the coast, they would soon be found at another, engaged in their nefarious traffic. This was a matter in which the exertions of England had been greatly misdirected. If half the time, trouble, and expense had been devoted to the increase of free labour in our own colonies, we would have done much more in effecting the suppression of the slave-trade than we can now console ourselves with having done.

Mr. WARBURTON observed that the papers to which the noble lord referred gave the following results, which he would read to the house. It appeared that from 1815 to 1843, according to the imperfect returns which the government had been able to obtain, the number of negroes transported from Africa to Cuba and Brazil amounted to 639,145; and, according to the notes appended to those returns, in order to arrive at the real number they were instructed to multiply by two, which gave as the whole number so transported 1,280,000. Now, the total number of those liberated by British cruisers was only 18,042, which number was, as compared with 1,280,000, as one was to 72, and one in 72 was less than 1½ per cent. One and a half per cent. being the total number liberated, how small a proportion was that to the whole number shipped from Africa! And yet such was the result of all their expenditure and all their sacrifices, in prohibiting free trade between this country and those countries which abounded in tropical produce, but with which a free intercourse had been prohibited because they carried on the slave-trade. One and a half per cent. was all that they had liberated. Were they not to look at this fact, and argue from it for the future? The noble lord on the one side, and the right honourable baronet on the other, told them that if France and England would only cordially unite to put down the slave-trade, their conjoint efforts would speedily be attended with the most triumphant results, for the slave-trade would become so hazardous that an end would soon be put to it. To this he would only reply, after the manner of the Spartan—"if." When they cordially united to put down the slave-trade, they might possibly achieve much. As yet they had done but very little, as the returns but too clearly indicated. If they took the experience of the past, from 1815 to 1842, and considered that during the next thirty years different results might be attained, then he agreed with the noble lord that it might be desirable that there should be such a union, if such consequences were to follow. But who expected that such would be the case? At present, by the course they (the Government) were pursuing, they were only exasperating those amongst whom they were endeavouring, by futile means, to put down the slave-traffic and the institution of slavery, instead of attempting, by gentler means and by more kindly representations, to induce them to abandon both the trade and the institution.

Viscount PALMERSTON thought that the hon. member for Kendal did not take all the proper items into his account, in stating the number of slaves who had been emancipated by the endeavours of the British Government. The number to which the hon. gentleman alluded, was the number of those emancipated and landed upon the American coast; but, besides this number, they had between sixty and seventy thousand who had been landed at Sierra Leone. The hon. gentleman should also recollect, that a great number of vessels were captured upon the coast of Africa without any slaves on board, and which, if not captured, would have returned laden with cargoes of five or six hundred slaves apiece. The hon. gentleman, if he took these things into the account, would find that a much larger per centage of negroes than that which he had just mentioned, were either emancipated from the slave ships, or saved from capture and bondage.

Sir CHARLES NAPIER agreed with the hon. member for Kendal, with the noble lord, and with the right hon. baronet (laughter). He thought that if France and England should really and seriously combine to put down the slave-trade, their object could soon be effected; but he did not think that France would ever come to such an agreement. That country was now trying to do away with the right of search. What plan France proposed as a substitute for that right was not yet divulged, but it appeared that

there was some plan in view. But if the right hon. baronet would give up all that humbug of destroying barracoons, and all that humbug about doing what might be construed as being contrary to the law of nations, which he considered altogether humbug in reference to this matter, and embark a couple of thousand of black troops from the West Indies on board a few steamboats, and let them make a run from one end of the coast of Africa to the other, and destroy, in their progress, every place from which slaves are exported, his word for it, they would soon put an end to the slave-trade (much laughter).

Captain PECHILL believed that the accounts of slaves landed were imperfect, and the only course left for the house to pursue, was to discuss the question on the returns which they found to give the most correct account. He differed with the hon. member for Montrose, as to the attempts which this country had made to put down the traffic in slaves. In his opinion, their operations had been most successful. He found, that from 1831 to 1835, there were seventy-five vessels taken with slaves, and only seven empty; and those who had the boldness and the courage to seize the empty ones, had been charged with damages to a considerable amount. From 1836 to 1841, 104 vessels were taken with slaves, and 143 empty. These were statements which he hoped the hon. member for Montrose would take notice of. During the last two years of the present Government, the years 1840 and 1841, only eight vessels loaded with slaves were captured, and forty-eight empty, by one account, and fifty-four by another; but say, fifty empty, were also taken during these two years. This showed that the exertions of this country had been eminently successful. Now, the right hon. gentleman who introduced the estimates, and called for an increased vote for the naval service, assigned, amongst other things, as a reason for making such a call, that additional armaments were to be sent to the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade. He would now call upon the Government to explain to the House whether they, the Government, had been successful, in the new policy adopted, of concentrating their forces on the African seas, by the withdrawal of our cruisers from the coast of Brazil, from Cuba, and from the Gulf of Mexico?

Sir G. COCKBURN said that the gallant officer had alluded, in the first part of his speech to the success which had attended their efforts on the coast of Africa, and was anxious to know whether they (the Government) were now succeeding in their efforts. He had great pleasure in being able to say that, during the last year, they had been exceeding even their expectations. From news lately received from the coast of Africa, it appeared that seventeen vessels had been recently captured, and he was very happy to say that three vessels out of every four were without slaves. This was the best proof which could be adduced of the value of having a squadron on the coast of Africa. The squadron on the African station consisted of 23 vessels. Amongst these there were six or seven steamers, which were very useful, although they did not find that they captured any more slavers than did the other vessels. In the next place, they had that day received an account of an attack made by the officer in command there, who had landed some of his men, and, on account of the improper conduct of some chiefs destroyed three or four of their towns, and then went up the country, and brought the king, Mannah, to his senses, and made him promise to enter into a treaty. He had every reason to believe that our cruisers on the coast of Africa were fast destroying the slave-trade. He also understood that the price of slaves had of late got up in the colonies, which he regarded as another proof of success.

WEDNESDAY, May 7.

SLAVE-TRADE.

Viscount PALMERSTON wished to put a question to the right honourable baronet at the head of the Government—it was one which he had put to him the other night, and which as he was not then prepared to answer it, he would now repeat. By the treaty of Washington, concluded in August, 1842, and by the 9th article of that treaty, it was stipulated that "whereas, notwithstanding all the efforts which may be made upon the coast of Africa, for the suppression of the slave-trade, while the facilities for carrying on that traffic by the fraudulent use of flags are so great, and the temptations for pursuing it when markets can be found are so strong, that the desired result may be long delayed, unless all the markets now open be shut up against the purchase of African negroes—the parties to the treaty do therefore agree to unite in all becoming representations to, and remonstrances with, any and all of the powers within whose dominions such markets are allowed to exist, and that they will urge on all such powers the propriety and duty of closing such markets fully, at once and for ever." He wished then to ask whether, in consequence and in pursuance of that 9th article, the Governments of the United States and of England had united in communicating any, and, if any, what representations and remonstrances to the Governments of Brazil and Spain, both of them nations included in the class of those referred to. He wished, also, to ask, with reference to the treaty of December, 1840, for the suppression of the slave-trade—the treaty, he meant, signed between England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—whether any steps had been taken in pursuance of the 17th article, which stated that "The high contracting parties agree to invite those maritime powers of Europe which have not yet concluded treaties for the abolition of the slave-trade, to accede to the present treaty." The powers referred to were Belgium, Hanover, and Greece, and the question which he wished to put to the right honourable gentleman was, whether the parties to that treaty of December, 1840, had, in pursuance of the article he had referred to, applied to those three powers to obtain their annexation to the treaty?

Sir R. PEEL said, that the noble lord having given him notice of his intention to ask the questions which he had put, he had made inquiry at the Foreign Office, as to the transaction referred to. The noble lord had quoted—of course correctly—the article of the treaty of Washington, as to representations and remonstrances to be made by the Governments of Great Britain and the United States to certain foreign powers. After the passing of that treaty, several conferences had taken place between his noble friend at the head of the Foreign Department and the American minister, Mr. Everett, upon the subject of the article in question. The question was, whether it would be most advantageous and most likely to

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bring about desirable results, were the representation to be made by both countries united, or by each for itself. The words of the article undoubtedly were that both countries should "unite," but it was not considered that they were necessarily bound, therefore, to make a joint representation, and that, should it be thought most desirable for each country to make a separate representation, each country was at perfect liberty to do so. It was ultimately determined, as the best course to be adopted, that each country should make such a separate representation. The Government of Great Britain had faithfully adhered to that arrangement, and he understood from the American minister that the Government of the United States had also made a similar representation to Brazil, through their minister there, who had all along shown the utmost readiness to assist in every measure calculated to put down the slave-trade. (Hear, hear.) As to the second question of the noble lord, he had correctly stated that in 1841 a treaty had been concluded by Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, conceding to each other a mutual right of search, in order to suppress, as far as possible, the slave-trade. That treaty had been signed by France, but had not been ratified by her. The other great powers of Europe, however, independent of that non-ratification, concluded the treaty. It was a quadruple treaty, binding on four powers; and it became a question whether, after the refusal of France to ratify the treaty, it was desirable that representations should be made to the three powers who had not at all joined it, namely, Belgium, Hanover, and Greece. He believed that no vessels belonging to these countries were engaged in the slave-trade, nor were their flags used in the promotion of that traffic. No doubt it would be very desirable that all the maritime powers of Europe should unite to put it down; but there were considerations connected with the refusal of France to ratify the treaty which were judged to form obstacles in the way of representation being made to the three powers alluded to. (Hear.)

Viscount PALMERSTON observed, that as to the first question, as it appeared that the Government of the United States had made remonstrances in execution of the article of the treaty of Washington referred to, he presumed that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a diplomatic communication of these remonstrances from that Government, and in laying them before the house. If the remonstrances had been joint, as was the literal construction of the treaty, they would have been laid on the table of the house as a matter of course; but being conformable to the treaty in spirit, although not in form, he still did not see that there could be any obstacle to their production.

Home Intelligence.

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP WITH AMERICAN SLAVEHOLDERS.—MEETING AT EDINBURGH.—On Monday evening, a public meeting was held in the Rev. Mr. M'Gilchrist's church, Rose-street, for the purpose of considering the propriety of passing resolutions against the practice of Christian churches in this country holding fellowship with the slave-holding and slavery-defending churches of America. The church was well filled on the occasion. Bailie Gray having been called to the chair, the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, of Loanhead, (Reformed Presbyterian); the Rev. Dr. Willis, of Glasgow, (Free Church); the Rev. Mr. Read, of Lothian-road church, (Secession); and the Rev. H. C. Wright, of Philadelphia, who moved and seconded a series of resolutions, declaring that American slavery develops the grossest system of wrong and injustice—a system condemned by natural reason and sound policy, by a sense of justice between man and man, by the whole tenor and spirit of the word of God, and especially by the dispensation of the gospel; that it is the duty of the Christian churches of Great Britain to renounce all Christian fellowship with the slaveholding churches of America, to refuse to receive the ministers of these churches into their pulpits, or to send delegates to, or receive delegates from, such ecclesiastical bodies; and that, as practical Christianity alone can be expected to overthrow this sinful and degrading system, it is the imperative and immediate duty of every church of Christ to testify, by every means in their power, their abhorrence of this crying evil. Dr. Willis and the other speakers commented strongly on the recent speeches of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Candlish in the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh; and expressed a hope that the ensuing meeting of Assembly would come to such resolutions as would redeem the credit of the Free Church in this matter, and place it in a position more consistent with the common sense and Christian feeling of the country. A letter from the venerable Thomas Clarkson was read to the meeting, expressive of his entire approval of the object for which it had been summoned; and also a letter from the Rev. Mr. Macbeth, of Glasgow, (who was announced as one of the speakers,) apologizing for not being able to be present, and declaring that he considered slaveholding an excommunicable offence, and utterly opposed to the benign spirit of the Christian religion, and that he was most desirous to see the Free Church acknowledge, and act on this principle.—*Witness.*

Colonial Intelligence.

BARBADOES.—A very large portion of the crop has been reaped and manufactured. The drought has lessened the quantity by many hundred hogsheads.—*West Indian.*

TRINIDAD.—Letters have been received by this packet communicating intelligence with reference to the Coolies. The difficulty which has been experienced by the parties entrusted with the management of the immigration scheme, has not been occasioned by any lack of people disposed to come to the West Indies, as any number required could be obtained with the utmost ease. The great difficulty has been the want of vessels in which to ship them. Our informant states, that two vessels have been discharged for Jamaica, and that the third, intended for Trinidad, has been delayed in consequence of the agent not being able to procure a competent medical superintendent for it.—*Trinidad Standard.*

Foreign Intelligence.

MARTINIQUE.—ESCAPE OF SLAVES.—The *Grenada Chronicle* of the 22nd says, that six refugee slaves, in an open boat, were, on the Sunday previous, picked up at sea, 140 miles to the northward of Margarita, by the sloop *Water Witch*, on her passage from Carupano to Grenada. "The men reported that seven of them had left Martinique, for St. Lucia, on the previous Sunday, with only one day's provision, that they were unable to make port from the prevalence of a strong current, and that one of their comrades jumped overboard the day before they were picked up. They landed from the *Water Witch* yesterday morning, and are now enjoying all the privileges of free men." Were it not the policy of the French colonial governments to conceal, as much as possible, from their slaves everything connected with these escapes, and could the truth be arrived at, we do firmly believe, on evidence which we picked up in a tour among the islands in 1840, that the number that succeeded in making an English port is really insignificant as compared with those who are lost in the adventure. Could not our anti-slavery friends in England endeavour to obtain returns through some of their friends in the French chambers? It would really be an interesting document, and we will answer to supply the safe arrivals in English ports for the corresponding years.—*Barbadoes Liberal.*

FRANCE.—RIGHT OF SEARCH.—Our private letters state that it was reported and believed, in the best informed quarters, that the Commissioners appointed to endeavour to discover and agree upon a substitute for "the right of search," in the repression of the slave-trade, had come to a satisfactory conclusion on the subject. The new means of prevention would, it was stated, be by blockade.—*Times.*

HOLLAND.—A committee of the Second Chamber of the States-General has been appointed to examine the petition presented to that body by 46 proprietors of plantations at Surinam.

Miscellanea.

THE SUGAR TRADE.—We copy the following remarks on the operation of the new sugar duties, from Messrs. Trueman and Cook's Circular for the present month:—"The sugar market has exhibited extraordinary activity during the whole month. The stock in dealers' hands throughout the country had so completely run out, pending the discussion of the new duties, that the supply necessary for the immediate consumption was very large. At the close of March, the deliveries for the first three months of the year were 5,000 tons less than in the corresponding period of 1844; in April, however, the deliveries were no less than 13,000 tons more than in the same month last year; and thus in 1845 there is an actual excess of 8,000 tons over the first four months of 1844. The point of the greatest interest, consequent upon the reduced duty, is the extent to which it will increase consumption; considerable doubt was entertained whether it would reach the ministerial estimate of 40,000 tons during the year; but present appearances decidedly induce an expectation that the increase will even exceed that estimate. Under ordinary circumstances, the deliveries are not, of necessity, evidence of consumption, because there may be reasons irrespective of immediate demand, to induce the dealers and refiners to hold larger stocks; with the view, therefore, of ascertaining the real fact at the present period, a very minute inquiry has been instituted among the grocers and retail dealers throughout the metropolis and adjoining districts, the result of which is both curious and interesting. In the wealthier quarters the increase varies from 10 to 20 per cent.; but in the eastern part of the town and poorer suburbs, it actually ranges from 30 to 60 per cent. Something, probably, is attributable to the novelty of cheap sugar; but habits once acquired are not easily put aside, and with a continuance of the present prosperity, there seems now no reason to doubt that the increase of consumption will at least equal the most sanguine expectation; and the reduction of the duty prove, in course of time, even a benefit to the revenue. The new measure continues to work well; and the judicious selection of the standard has apparently removed all difficulty. To clear up a doubt as to the liability of some of the Dhubah sugar to the higher duty, an eminent authority (Dr. Ure) was officially applied to for a chemical analysis of both that and the standard sample; and the investigation has established, that the standard contains 10 per cent. more saccharine matter than the Dhubah No. 1; consequently the latter and similar descriptions will come in under the lower rate of duty."

THE SUGAR DUTIES.—The *Morning Chronicle* states that Venezuela, Mexico, and the United States, have all claimed the introduction of their sugars at the reduced duty, under the most favoured nation clause, and that an order in council has been issued to this effect.

THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.—Our private Letters state that the draft of the convention respecting the right of search agreed upon by the commissioners, (the Duke de Broglie and Dr. Lushington,) which had been transmitted for approval from London to Paris, had been returned, with an objection to one of its provisions. The precise terms of the proposed convention were not, of course, known; but it was understood that they contemplated treaties with the African native chiefs, to prevent the sale and embarkation of slaves; and in the event of failure or deception on the part of such chiefs, or of any of them, that their territory be blockaded, and possession taken of their factories.—*Times.*

FINE ARTS.—A pleasing object has just appeared in the print-shops. It is an engraving, on stone, of the extreme eastern portion of the frieze of the Hall of Commerce in this city, representing the abolition of slavery. The print exhibits a British female presenting the cap of liberty to a company of slaves, in various attitudes, expressive of joy and gratitude.

Printed by WILLIAM TYLER, of 25, Duncan-terrace, Islington, in the county of Middlesex, printer, and CHARLES REED, of Cambridge-heath, Hackney, in the said county of Middlesex, printer, at their printing-office, No. 5, Bolt-court, Fleet-street, in the parish of St. Dunstan-in-the-West in the city of London; and published by LANCELOT WILD, of No. 13, Catherine-street, in the parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, in the county of Middlesex, publisher, at 13, Catherine-street, Strand, as aforesaid. Wednesday, May 14, 1845.